

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ACDA-19 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03

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INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

USNMR SHAPE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 1797

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: ALLIED REACTIONS TO FRG'S PROPOSALS ON VERIFICATION

VIENNA FOR USDEL MBFR

REF: USNATO 1383

SUMMARY: SEVERAL ALLIES HAVE NOW BEGUN TO REACT OFFICIALLY TO FRG'S REVISED VERIFICATION PROPOSALS (TEXT REFTEL). AT MARCH 25 SPC MEETING, DUTCH REP MADE LENGTHY STATEMENT (SUPPORTED IN PRINCIPLE BY BELGIAN REP), TO REASSURE FRG THAT IT WOULD NOT BE PLACED IN A SPECIAL STATUS. TO PROVE POINT HE ANNOUNCED NETHERLANDS WOULD BE PREPARED TO HAVE INSPECTORS OPERATE IN WHATEVER DUTCH PORTS WERE SELECTED FOR U.S. TROOP EMBARKATIONS. AT APRIL 1 MEETING SHAPE REP MADE

STATEMENT STRESSING WELL KNOWN MILITARY ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF AN OVERT INSPECTION SYSTEM, UK REP CITED SHAPE ARGUMENTS, AND SAID
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LONDON CONTINUED TO BELIEVE ALLIES SHOULD PUSH FOR AN OVERT SYSTEM OF MOBILE TEAMS AND STATIC POSTS. FRG REP MADE LONG INSTRUCTED STATEMENT (TEX SEPTTEL) WHICH RESPONDED TO EARLIER ALLIED COMMENTS BUT ALSO SET FORTH FURTHER FRG POSITIONS. DISCUSSION WILL CONTINUE

APRIL 8. MISSION BELIEVES THAT TIME NOW APPROACHING WHEN U.S. SHOULD RESPOND TO FRG INITIATIVE. END SUMMARY.

1. ALLIES BEGAN TO REACT TO FRG'S REVISED VERIFICATION PROPOSALS AT MARCH 25 SPC MEETING. DUTCH REP MADE PRINCIPAL INTERVENTION, SAYING THAT DUTCH FULLY UNDERSTAND FRG WORRIES ABOUT BEING PLACED IN A SPECIAL POSITION IN MBFR, BUT HOPED ALLIES COULD LAY THESE WORRIES TO REST RATHER HAN ALLOW THEM TO GUIDE FURTHER ALLIED WORK ON VERIFICATION. IN DUTCH VIEW, PARA 7 OF CM(73)83 COVERS MANY FRG CONCERNS.

2. TURNING TO SPECIFIC FRG CONCERNS AS REFLECTED IN PAPER, DUTCH REP SPOKE FIRST TO GERMANY'S CONCERN FOR KEEPING OPEN ALL AVENUES FOR FUTURE EUROPEAN INTEGRATION. WHILE RECOGNIZING THAT CONCERN FOR THE EUROPEAN OPTION WAS LEGITIMATE, DUTCH FELT THAT IT WAS A MUCH LONGER TERM, AND AT THIS POINT, UNDEFINED PROBLEM. APPLICATION OF OVERT VERIFICATION MEASURES WILL GIVE ALLIES DIFFICULTIES IN ANY CASE, SUCH AS WITH THE REINTRODUCTION OF CANADIAN AND UK FORCES, NOT TO MENTION REFORGER. ALLIES SHOULD THEREFORE CONCENTRATE ON RESOLVING THESE NERARE-TERM PROBLEMS INSTEAD OF WORRYING ABOUT A SO-CALLED EUROPEAN OPTION.

3. SPEAKING NEXT TO FRG CONCERN THAT IT MIGHT BE ONLY NATO COUNTRY IN WHICH VERIFICATION MEASURES WOULD APPLY, DUTCH REP SAID SINCE U.S. WITHDRAWN TROOPS WOULD BE COMING OUT OF CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN PARTS OF FRG, MANY WOULD PROBABLY EMBARK IN OTHER THAN FRG PORTS. AS FAR AS NETHRLANDS WAS CONCERNED, IT WAS PREPARED TO FURNISH ALL NECESSARY COOPERATION IN THIS PROCESS, NOTABLY BY INSURING THAT WP INSPECTION TEAMS COULD PERFORM THEIR FUNCTION IN WHATEVER DUTCH PORTS WERE SELECTED FOR TROOP EMBAARKATION OPERATIONS. DUTCH WANTED TO EMPHASIZE FOREGOING AS DEMONSTARATION THAT FRG WOULD IN FACT NOT BE ISOLATED IN THE OVERT VERFICATION PROCESS.

4. THE HAGUE, HE WENT ON, WAS UNCLEAR ABOUT MEANING OF FRG STATEMENT IN PARA 7 THAT ANY COMMITMENTS ON OVERT INSPECTION MADE FOR PHASE I WOULD NOT BE APRECEDENT FOR PHASE II. DUTCH REP CONCLUDED THAT HIS AUTHORITIES DESIRED A FURTHER EXPLANATION OF FRG VIEWS -
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ESPECIALLY ON THE EUROPEAN OPTION. MEANWHILE, THEY HOPED THAT FRG POSITIONS COULD BE THOUGHT THROUGH AGAIN, SINCE IN THEIR PRESENT FORM NETHERLANDS WOULD NOT WISH TO FOLLOW THEM.

5. FOLLOWING BRIEF DISCUSSION, DUTCH REP TURNED AGAIN TO EUROPEAN OPTION AND SAID THAT SINCE NETHRLANDS HAD AGREED TO POLITICAL UNIFICATION BY 1980, ALLIES SHOULD OBVIOUSLY TAKE CARE TO AVOID ANYTHING WHICH MIGHT INHIBIT A EUROPEAN OPTION. THEY SHOULD NOT, HOWEVER, LET THIS BECOME A PRETEXT TO DO NOTHING MEANINFUL IN VERIFICATION. ALLIES ARE NOW ENGOTIATING TROOP REDUCTIONS WITHIN A SPECIFIC ARA OF EUROPE. THIS MEANS THAT A LINE WILL BE DRAWN WHICH AN EVENTUAL EUROPEAN UNION MUST ACNOWLEDGE AND TAKE INTO ACCOUNT. WHILE ALLIES SHOULD TRY TO AVOID AS MANY OBSTACLES AS POSSIBLE IN

MBFR, THEY MUST ACCEPT FACT THAT THEY WILL INCUR SOME DISADVANTAGES IF MBFR IS ACHIEVED, ONE OF WHICH WILL BE A LINE RUNNING THROUGH AN EVENTUALLY UNIFIED WESTERN EUROPE. IT IS NOT ENOUGH TO SAY, THEREFORE, THAT ALLIES CANNOT HAVE VERIFICATION BECAUSE THEY DO NOT WANT TO ENDANGER A EUROPEAN OPTION.

6. BELGIAN REP (BURNY) SAID HIS INSTRUCTIONS COINCIDED IN GENERAL WITH DUTCH POSITION. AT APRIL 1 MEETING, HE SUBSEQUENTLY CONFIRMED THAT BELGIANS WOULD BE PREPARED TO ALLOW WP INSPECTORS OPERATE ON THEIR TERRITORY, WITH ONLY CAVEAT THAT DETAILS BE WORKED OUT IN ACCORDANCE WITH MILITARY/TECHNICAL ACCEPTABILITY AND WITHIN FRAMEWORK OF RECIPROCITY.

7. FOLLOWING UK REP'S MARCH 25 SUGGETION THAT SACEUR PROVIDE VIEWS, SHAPE REP ON APRIL 1 DELIVERED STATEMENT SETTING FORTH WELL KNOWN MILITARY VIEWS ON DESIRABILITY OF AN OVERT INSPECTION SYSTEM TO ENHANCE WARNING TIME, AND TO IMPROVE INTELLIGENCE ON PACT FORCE CAPABILITIES, (TEXT POUCHED RPM AND ISA).

8. UK REP (LOGAN) SAID LONDON'S VIEWS COINCIDED WITH AND WERE NOW REINFORCED BY SHAPE REP'S STATEMENTS. AS A RESULT UK WOULD BE MOST RELUCTANT TO REDUCE THRUST AND CONTENT OF ALLIED PROPOSALS FOR OVERT VERIFICATION. FRG, HE WENT ON, SHOULD NOT BE CONCERNED WITH ACQUIRING

A SPECIAL STATUS DURING AND AFTER MBFR. THIS WAS BECAUSE SOVIETS WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY WISH TO OPERATE IN BENELUX. FURTHERMORE, WEST COULD USE THIS TO REQUIRE FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT THROUGHOUT PACT SIDE OF NGA. SINCE EAST WOULD SUBJECT ALLIES OBSERVERS TO RIGID

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CONTROLS, LONDON BELIEVED ALLIES SHOULD SO SAME, AND FOR THIS REASON SUPPORTED FRG ON ATTACHING LIAISON OFFICERS TO WP TEAMS.

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INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
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USNMR SHAPE

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9. IN DISCUSSION THUSFAR, SEVERAL REPS HAVE PUT QUESTIONS TO FRG REP ON MEANING AND INTEND BEHIND CERTAIN FRG STATEMENTS. DUTCH ARE CLEARLY INTERSTED IN BONN'S THINKING ON THE EUROPEAN OPTION. DANISH REP ASKED ABOUT WHAT FRG HAD IN MIND IN ITS PARA 7 STATEMENT THAT AREA IN WHICH MEASURES ARE APPLIED SHOULD BE EXTENDED AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE. UK REP REQUESTED FURTHER DETAILS ON FRG IDEA OF INSPECTION BY CHALLENGE (PARA 3). SEVERAL REPS URGED THAT FRG COME UP WITH SPECIFIC AMENDMENTS TO SPC'S DRAFT REPORT ON VERIFICATION.

10. AT APRIL 1 MEETING FRG DELIVERED LENGTHY STATEMENT WHICH HE AGREED TO CIRCULATE (TEXT SEPTTEL). STATEMENT REPLIES TO SOME QUESTIONS, SEEKS TO EXPAND CONCEPTS WITH WHICH BONN IS WORKING AND PRESENTS SEVERAL POINTS. HIGHLIGHTS OF FRG'S STATEMENT ARE THAT:

-- BONN IS NOT IN A POSITION TO ACCEPT PERMANENT INSPECTION TEAMS COVERING THE ENTIRE AREA, ALTHOUGH DUTCH PROPOSAL FOR PORTS COULD BE A DIFFERENT MATTER.

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-- BONN WISHES TO SEE COLLATERAL MEASURES APPLIED TO AN AREA EVEN LARGER THAN NGA, THEREBY ALLEVIATING SPECIAL CONDITIONS APPLYING TO LATTER.

-- VERIFICATION OF WITHDRAWALS WHICH WILL BE LIMITED IN TIME, IS ACCEPTABLE.

-- IN ORDER TO FIND SOLUTION TO INSPECTION OF POST REDUCTION FORCE LEVELS, (WHICH BONN AGREES HAS NOT BEEN RESOLVED SATISFACTORILY). ALLIES NEED TO KNOW MORE ABOUT TECHNICAL CAPABILITY OF NTM, SPECIFICALLY HOW IT CAN ASSIST VERIFICATION IN MBFR, BONN FEELS THAT IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO DECIDE ON THE SCOPE OF AN OVERT INSPECTORATE UNTIL NTM CAPABILITY IS CLASSIFIED.

-- IF NTM IS INSUFFICIENT, ALLIES MIGHT CONSIDER IDEA OF RANDOM CONTROLS. FRG LIAISON OFFICERS WOULD HAVE TO BE INCLUDED IN THIS, AS IN ANY OTHER POST-REDUCTION SCHEME.

11. IN ONLY SUBSTANTIAL INTERVENTION FOLLOWING FRG STATEMENT, U.S. REP SOUGHT TO PREVENT BONN'S VIEW ON NTM BECOMING CENTRAL POINT OF CONTENTION BETWEEN ALLIES FAVORING AN OVERT INSPECTORATE AND CURRENT FRG POSITION. HE SAID THAT FRG REPS STATEMENT SUGGESTED BONN WAS DOUBIOUS ABOUT ADVANTAGES OF OVERT INSPECTION MEASURES ALLIES HAD BEEN CONSIDERING. IT WOULD BE IMPORTANT FOR WASHINGTON

TO KNOW WHETHER ALLIES PERCEIVE THE OVERT INSPECTORATE TO BE SOMETHING MORE THAN A SUBSTITUTE FOR NTM, OR WHETHER THEY BELIEVED THAT MEASURES WERE NO LONGER OF SUFFICIENT VALUE TO WARRANT THEIR BEING PUT FORWARD TO EAST. UK REP REJOINED THAT LONDON WANTED OVERT MEASURES FOR REASONS PUT FORWARD IN SHAPE REP'S STATEMENT. RG SAID BONN'S VIEW REMAINS THAT WHILE ACKNOWLEDGING MILITARY IMPORTANCE OF MEASURES, ALLIES WILL HAVE TO STRIKE A BARGAIN BETWEEN MILITARY NECESSITY AND POLITICAL ACCEPTABILITY.

12. COMMENT: TREND OF DISCUSSIONS HAS NOW IDENTIFIED THE MAJOR PROTAGONISTS AND THEIR POINTS OF VIEW. AS A RESULT, WE THINK U.S. SHOULD NOW MAKE AN EARLY STATEMENT ON FRG PROPOSALS, PREFERABLY AT APRIL 8 SPC MEETING. OVER SOMEWHAT LONGER TERM, WASHINGTON MIGHT GIVE THOUGHT TO WHETHER FRG VIEWS CAN IN ANY WAY BE ACCOMMODATED, FOR INSTANCE, ON INSPECTION BY CHALLENGE, DURATION OF INSPECTION, AND OTHER WAYS TO REMOVE POLITICAL LIABILITIES GERMANS SEE IN
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CURRENT INSPECTION PROPOSALS. END COMMENT.
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